2:Carasco F-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 159] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 423 668 [585] This fight turned out to be an attack on inalienable landed property in general, including the Indian communal lands. The purpose was to free those lands thus removed from commerce and throw them to the free play of the market, creating a class of small farmer-owners with a well developed idea of property which would make for social and economic progress.

175 668 423 The abolition of landownership by civil and ecclesiastical corporations was first written into law in 1856 and incorporated into the 1857 constitution during the period of Mexican history known as the *Reforma*.[21] The enforcement of these measures, in so far as they concerned the lands of Indian towns, was usually delayed until the end of the nineteenth century.[22]

175 423 648 [471] The Indians' communal lands were allotted as private property among the villagers. Once the property title was in individual hands, with the possibility of being sold to anybody, outsiders found the way open to acquire land which, through communal land title, had formerly been reserved for the villagers. The greater economic power of the non-Indians, and frequently unfair practices, allowed them to acquire a great amount of land from Indian villages. The concentration of land in haciendas and the impoverishment of the villages were thus facilitated. This process was accelerated during the Porfirio Díaz regime (1877-1911) because of the general economic progress of that period. The inflow of capital, building of railroads, development of mining and other industries, also led to a rise of land values and an increase of capital seeking to invest in land.[23]

* * *

175 423 668 648 In summary, after the reforms of the end of the nineteenth century, the haciendas grew enormously at the expense of the formerly communal land of the village communities or of land allotted to individual Indians who were not able to keep possession. On the other hand, the remaining village communities changed from units of peasant joint owners to rural aggregates of individual farmer-owners.

The growth of the haciendas at the expense of the land-holding villages and the change within the villages from communal to private property represented the general national trend of change in rural Mexico,

21. Phipps, 1925, 77.
22. Callcott, 1931, 136.
23. Phipps, 1925, Chs. 5, 6, 7; Molina Enríquez, 1909, 56-8.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 up to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This
423 found its legal expression in the *Reforma*
668 and subsequent laws aimed at suppressing
648 communal property. The change, however, went at a different pace in different regions. Mexico, due to the diversity of its territory and population, is characterized by a very unequal development of its various regions, thus allowing different types of society and culture to live together even if connected and coordinated into a single nation. The political and legal changes of the late nineteenth century represent only the turning point at which this general trend of change became the dominant political issue and required expression in the nation's legal system.

175 In marginal regions, however, the land-
423 holding village, regardless of how many changes in its organization were required, survived and held its own against the haciendas, in the same way as haciendas had been the dominant type of economy in parts of Mexico at the time when communal ownership of villages was recognized and protected by law. Consequently, in discussing the development of a particular region like Michoacan, further inquiry is essential to determine to what extent and in what manner this national trend of change has taken place.

* * *

Private estates had been introduced into Michoacan by the Spaniards since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They began in northern Michoacan where the land was particularly suited for stock raising, and in the tierra caliente where they concentrated on cattle and sugar cane. This is the area where the hacienda type of economy predominated until the Revolution.

Information is available on the political-religious organization of Indian towns at the end of the eighteenth century (from around 1789) and will be discussed later (Chapter 3). In the economic scene, the impact of the haciendas on the holding villages was at that time already noticeable. Some of the haciendas, like La Guaracha in the Zamora area and those on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, which after the Revolution were subject to land reforms and which are today on the edge of Tarascan-speaking territory, were already in existence.

175 The villages in the northern and southern
464 areas had to supplement their native econ-
177 omy with work in neighboring haciendas. This seems to have been the main factor leading to the decline and final disappear-

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 169] NU34 Tarasco.NU34
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175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

175 In many towns, however, the Indians re-
423 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws during most of the nineteenth century.

● 648 In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
656 regarding the distribution of the property of extinct Indian communities *(Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas,* 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys *(apoderados);* that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-6.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.166] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 for thirty or fifty years at very low rents,
423 so the Indians were actually left without
[648] land. This is reported to have happened in
[656] about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] The main reason for the preservation of
[133] Indian communities seems to be that this
[132] area was less desirable for the hacienda type of exploitation. The mountainous character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] The changes within the surviving Indian
[578] towns can be described from two points of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, i. e., the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-6; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 58-60.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, during
[648] the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1524 to 1526 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Tasco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13-a]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[text continues on p. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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prevented the Tarascans from helping Montezuma when he sought additional support against Cortez. Consequently, the Spaniards were able to conquer the Aztec and Tarascan empires separately.

In the legends will be found specific references to some of these historic events and to places located on the accompanying maps (Figs. 1-2). These tales explain some of the natural features of the Tarascan countryside. Frequently, political history is combined with natural history.

Except for references to the four cardinal directions in the first legend and to omens and dreams predicting the coming of the Spaniards in the last two tales, there is no similarity between these Tarascan legends and those of other Indian groups of Mexico.

COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS

The Tarascan legends and folk tales presented in this paper are a select few of those secured in 1953 by the author and his wife while he was Visiting Professor of History at the University of Michoacán in Morelia, Mexico. They were collected in the villages of Indians who still use the pre-Conquest language and speak of themselves as *Purépecha* rather than as Tarascans.

The etymology of the word "Tarascan" is disputed. The traditional explanation, probably correct, is that the conquistadores took Indian women as wives or concubines and were called *Tarascué* (son-in-law) by the fathers of the girls. Thinking that the term was the name of the tribe, the Spaniards referred to all as *Tarascos* (Foster, 1948, p. 9).

The legend of creation was told in the barrio of Santa Maria in Morelia by Ignácia Peña, a full-blooded Tarascan *serviente* (housemaid) with a third-grade education; the story of the tribal journey to Michoacán was given in Copula by Luis Espinosa, a meztizo with a secondary education, who specializes in pottery making; the tale of Tacamba was told by Fidelia Perez, a full-blooded Tarascan woman with no formal education, in the pueblo of San Gerónimo on the northern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro; the legend of Lake Cuitzeo was a collective effort by several natives

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

539 [128] [173] [167] The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

[175] Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

● [648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

539 805 [175] The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

539 796 793 173 292 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings, and other data essential to a successful compaign.
726 Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 312 passed and she had not gone to the fountain and filled her empty jug with water. She fell to her knees and directed her gaze at the rose-rimmed cloud hiding Father Sun. Tearfully, she prayed that the god would enable her to discover water nearby, so as not to incur the anger of her parents.

Her supplication was humble and sincere, because Tzintzin was a good girl. While she remained on her knees, a small beautifully colored bird arose from the center of a cluster of flowers. At that instant the last rays of Father Sun broke through the cloud and revealed drops of water which shone like diamonds falling from the feathers of the rising bird. This was the sign Tzintzin sought.

She parted the flowers and gazed into the pure, clear depths of a beautiful and hitherto unknown spring. Filling her jar, she returned home. Her parents were greatly surprised to see her return so quickly [she actually was late but the narrator said "so quickly" to emphasize the nearness of the new spring] and they supposed that Quanicoti had aided her with the water jar. However, she explained that she had discovered a new fountain of water near the road where her people traveled for decades.

The news of the fountain spread. The people from neighboring villages came to see the new source of water. Its depth was such that they called it Quiritzícuaro (the great fountain), and it still exists today to the east of the village of Paracho.

Always when the pretty Tzintzin visited this spot to hear Quanicoti's protestations of love, Father Sun smiled approvingly upon them with his brilliant, profound eye.

HUANITA

Historical Comment

173 194 In "Just as the Birds," the narrator spoke of one group of Tarascans who travelled northward to settle upon the rocky hill of Zacapu. At some uncertain time in the twelfth century, these [648] Tarascans conquered the people of Naranjo and then moved south-

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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east over the mountains into the Lake Pátzcuaro region, stopping at the base of the Cerro (hill) de Guayameo (Fig. 1). Unsettled conditions lasted for probably two hundred years until the Zacapu Tarascans, under Chief Tariácuri, established their supremacy in the region.

Tariácuri is considered the father of the Tarascan empire. Apparently, he lived during the last years of the fourteenth century, since, according to Tarascan count, his reign ended in the Christian year of 1400 A.D. After Tariácuri's death, the kingdom was temporarily divided before it fell to his nephew Tangáxhuan.

The narrator of the following legend erred in referring to Tangáxhuan as Tariácuri's son; rather he was the son of Aramen, Tariácuri's brother. The factual basis of the love story of Tangáxhuan and Huanita lies in that twilight realm where fact and fantasy are difficult to separate. If true, its facts date from the early fifteenth century.

The Legend

Throughout the land of the Tarascans it is still said that on the evenings of *Cutzi-huiripen* (the full moon), as the winds gently move through the birch trees and pass over the flower-covered hillsides, a song may be heard which recalls to the listeners the memory of the charming Huanita.

Huanita was the daughter of the woods, the beloved favorite of Cueróhperi (Mother Nature). The reeds of the lake were less graceful in movement than she; her perfectly molded figure was more beautiful than any flower of the field; and the long silken hair which spread over her voluptuous shoulders exuded a sweeter fragrance than the aromatic *ocote* tree.

Tangáxhuan, son of the powerful Tarascan king Tariácuri, loved Huanita. However, the beautiful daughter of the forest, who also adored the prince, could not disclose her love for him nor weave the threads of his robe because of her special destiny. She had been ordered by the priests of Tariácuri to burn incense in the temple of the gods and not to listen to the words of any lover.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan kingdom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion. King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal household, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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539 644 173 Fearing his brothers, especially Tanimaranscua, he gave orders that they be killed and the deed was done. The bodies of the murdered princes were still warm when the grief-stricken Sesihángari, with her hair flying in wild disorder, hurriedly took a torch and set fire to the palace where the bodies lay. Tongues of fire darted about and covered the regal mansion. The ceiling gave way, permitting the black smoke to rise heavenward and thereby making the sinister spectacle more awesome.

Among the leaping flames the onlookers saw Sesihángari embracing the body of her beloved Tanimaranscua. Before the horrified eyes of all, their two bodies were consumed in the flames. Thus were the two unified souls released in love and carried heavenward.

For centuries the Purépecha people remembered the terrible sight of the beautiful, grief-stricken princess.

THE DIVINE INCHÁTIRO

Historical Comment

173 539 787 [171] The folklore of the Indians of Mexico and Central America in pre-Conquest times referred to unusual omens—comets, burning temples, and dreams—which warned of the arrival of a strange people. The Tarascans were not exceptional in this respect [643] [631] [645] (Ramirez, 1903, pp. 11-12). King Zuangua at the nerve center of the empire in Tzintzuntzan and his vassal princes at Tingambato, Coyucán, and elsewhere were sitting in their political offices, fearful lest the sands of time were running out for the Tarascans.

173 539 [487] In the legend of Inchátiro those uneasy times are brought back like a breath of the past. Tingambato, the home of Camachuén, was, and still is, an important stopping point on a trail leading from La Sierra southeast to the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 1).

175 539 678 Since the time of Tariácuri at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Tarascans and Aztecs fought over the Tierra Caliente (Fig. 2).[3] The Matlaltzincas, sometimes called Pirindas, were said to have aided the Tarascans against the Aztecs. For this assis-

[3] [See Category 116, P. 5 -- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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poor have only pain and sorrow. The poor is our brother; the rich is our master. Love the poor; he is of our race. The rich is the foreigner; he pays us with sarcasm and jokes. Remember always that he who suffers and cries needs your help. These are the maxims of love.

THE LEGEND OF TACAMBA

Historical Comment

All the drainage of southwestern Michoacán is southward to the Balsas river, the heart of the tropical region. This area was in pre-Spanish times seemingly under Tarascan domain (Osborne, 1943). Coyucán, mentioned in the legend of Tacamba as being one of the seats of Tarascan power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is probably the town of Coyuca, a scant thirty-five miles south of present Huetamo (Fig. 2). At the time of the Conquest it was still an area of dispute between the Tarascans and the Aztecs, although both sides were temporarily at peace.

The wars between the Tarascans and Aztecs over this area accounted in large part for the refusal of Siguangua and Tzimtzicha to lend Tarascan support to the Aztecs against the Spaniards, thereby enabling the conquistadores to defeat both empires separately.

Tacamba, like Camachuén of the preceding legend, was one of the vassal princes of the Tarascan empire under King Siguanga and Tzimtzicha, his successor, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards. The death of Siguangua is accurately preserved in the body of the legend. In the first year of the Spanish arrival on the borders of Michoacán, smallpox and dysentery brought by Spanish messengers struck the Tarascan capital killing the king and his chief priests. The epidemic continued to take a terrible toll among the native population, weakening the Tarascans for the Spanish Conquest.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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173 589 did view in every direction. To the north the peaks of the pine-covered mountains were lost among the clouds; on the south the outline of a strange, fantastic ridge loomed through the thick haze of the hot country; directly below the palace lay the primordial valley and the poetic lake.

Here Tacamba spent many of his days devoted to important matters of government, while at night he directed his gaze upward into celestial space where innumerable other worlds gave testimony to the immense power of the gods. Was it during such a moment as this that the coming of other men to enslave his people was revealed to him? Many evenings his subjects noted that their young monarch stood alone on the roof of his palace and sang sweet but melancholy songs to Tucupa-Ácha, the supreme ruler of the universe.

173 539 648 When the rumor concerning the arrival of the Spaniards spread throughout the land, Tacamba listened without showing the least surprise. He sent emissaries to all corners of his realm, and one month later twenty thousand of his men were encamped near Chupio on the banks of the two rivers which bathed tropical Turicato. He knew that the proud Aztec king, Montezuma, had sought aid from the Tarascans and he desired to be the first to offer troops.

When the court at Tzintzuntzan chose to remain neutral, Tacamba's surprise and despair was beyond measure. Cautioning his troops to stay there, the prince hastened to the imperial city in hopes that he could overcome the apathy of the aged emperor with reason and logic.

The reigning monarch of the vast empire of Michoacán was King Siguangua, formerly bold and valorous but now old and weak in body and mind.

Tacamba used his eloquence in vain. Fruitlessly he appealed to religious sentiment, to love of the Tarascan countryside, to the pride of the formerly invincible race; finally he spoke of the fear and superstition which now held in bondage the souls of the Purépecha nobles.

Sometime later a smallpox epidemic spread its desolation among the families of the kingdom. The first of the victims to succumb

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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to the disease was the Tarascan king, whose death added to the panic which had already seized the people.

Then Tzimtzicha ascended the throne once occupied by the powerful descendents of Tariácuri. At the same time the Spaniards were conquering the hitherto invincible Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. Unhappily, Tacamba watched the dissolution of that race which had always distinguished itself through its strength and courage. The race of eagles seemed like a band of timid doves quivering at the presence of a hawk.

Tacamba, however, like a faithful subject, united his destiny with that of his king. Later, when the disgraced monarch of Tzintzuntzan was a prisoner, Tacamba stayed at his side and lovingly carried the heavy chains which bound Tzimtzicha. He saw how the greed of the Conquistadores for gold drove them to torture the king, and he heard the courageous dying words of the martyred Tzimtzicha.

Tacamba could no longer contain himself. Vowing eternally to hate the invaders of his native land, he placed himself at the head of many warriors and began the short but mighty epoch of slaughter and extermination before the *encomienda* system was established in Michoacán by Hernando Cortez.

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DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [198 193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends